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ABSTRACT

This bibliography was written for those interested in learning about the sociological and psychological research literature on Hispanic/Latino youth gangs. The focus is on the sociological and psychological issues of gang life that could be used to inform a school's response to gangs of Hispanic and Latino youth. Gangs and educators have historically had an uneasy truce, with educators resigned to the existence of gangs outside the school and willing to educate students who stay out of gangs. This bibliography lists 29 annotated sources and an additional 37 sources without annotations. Listings include author, title, journal citation, and publication information. (SLD)

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Annotated Bibliography

Latino Youth Gangs and Schools

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This bibliography was written for those interested in learning about the sociological and psychological research literature on Hispanic/Latino youth gangs. School administrators and teachers who want to learn more about the social and personal motivations for gang activity, and the role of the school in the broader social milieu, will find this bibliography helpful. Any educator interested in gaining a broad overview of the research literature on gang life and the role of schools should find this document a good starting point.

Although there are many short monographs on the subject of gang activity, specifically designed to reduce, re-direct, or remove gangs or gang activity in the schools, often published by local police departments, we have not included that work here. Rather, our focus here is on the sociological and psychological issues of gang life which may be used to inform a school's response to Latino/Hispanic youth gangs.

The growth of Latino/Hispanic youth gang activity presents a fundamental challenge for educators. Educators do not want to encourage dropouts (most gang members do drop out of school at an early age) but they also cannot allow the violence that often accompanies gang life. Most educators feel a responsibility to prevent youth from becoming active in the gang, but what can be done to prevent a young person from joining a gang?

Historically, educators and gangs have had an uneasy truce: gang members drop out of school and educators do not "bother" them unless they try to come inside the school to conduct their business. As long as they remain outside the school walls, educators have been resigned to the existence of gangs and willing to educate those students who stay out of a gang. However, with the growing numbers of Latino/Hispanic gangs in nearly every city in the southwestern US and selected other areas (e.g., Chicago), educators must, in our view, learn about the social and psychological variables affecting gang life. In that spirit, we encourage readers of this document to contact us about our own research study on Latino/Hispanic youth gangs and any research or programs they may develop.

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Corson, Betty L. (1981) *An interview study of 40 juvenile Hispanic gang students.* Masters Thesis, California State University, Long Beach.

This is perhaps a one of a kind study of Hispanic gang members, male and female. One important aspect of the study concerns the subjects' attitudes toward school and teachers. In her review of the literature, Corson found no study or inquiry into the relationship between schools and gangs, or any information on gangs specifically relating to schools, or education in general. The majority of the paper is devoted to describing the results of the three measurement tools employed. The study was not based on a particular hypothesis, nor were any conclusions drawn from the collected data.

The instruments used by the author include: 1.Student Interview Form - constructed by the author specifically for this study; 2. The Teacher-Police-School-Community Scale developed by Demos & Weijola (1971); and
3. The Wide Range Achievement Test, most recently revised at the paper's writing by Jastak & Jastak, 1978. The paper includes tables representing many of the students' responses to the measurement instruments. Part IV/A specifically concerns the subjects' school attitudes and expectations. Corson attributes the students' positive attitudes toward school (what few they had) to the unique characteristics of the Opportunity School which the students attended. (i.e. small classes, school personnel carefully matched to the student population.)

As with other studies and interviews with gang youth, education is valued in general, but there is always some reason or reasons given for not attending, not doing well, or not graduating. This is analogous to the high importance given to mathematics by the students (Table 48) and their overall poor performance on the math portion of the WRAT.

Corson makes several suggestions in concluding her paper. She advocates early intervention (elementary school level) based on her discovery that the majority of her subjects joined gangs at approximately age 10. (The ages and time periods given by the subjects were verified through testing their responses to several questions for consistency.)

Curry, G. D. & Spergel, I. A. (1992). Gang involvement and delinquency among Hispanic and African-American adolescent males. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 29, 273-291.

This article tries to find the correlation between gang involvement and delinquency and the degree to which "at risk" preadolescents or younger minority (Hispanic/Latino and African-American) adolescents who reside in gang crime areas, are involved in gang activity. The authors explain that although many people believe that gangs and delinquency are synonymous, not all gangs are involved in criminal behaviors based on Frederick Thrasher's study (1927). Many researchers have observed dissimilarities in patterns of gang involvement across ethnic groups. Spergel, for example, (1964) found differently structured youth gangs or delinquent groups in three ethnic communities that he studied. The study made by the authors consisted of a survey made of male students in the sixth through eighth grades at four middle schools from a low-income neighborhood in the near northwest area of Chicago. The data consisted of 139 Hispanic/Latino and 300 African-American students. In order to understand the process by which adolescents become involved in youth gangs, they obtained self-report data on students' aspirations and values, family composition,

perceptions of the gang problem, participation in gang and non-gang antisocial events, as well as contacts and relationships with the variety of peer and adult significant others. For this purpose, questions like "In general, are there any advantages to someone being in a gang?", "How many times in the last 2 months have you worn gang colors at school?" and "Among the places around here, what are the places where you and your friends hang out most of the time?" in order to identify any kind of gang association. The results, in general terms, were: Patterns of youth gang involvement are different for Hispanic/Latino and African-American male adolescents. Implications for schools: (283) "In the model for Hispanics, the remaining estimators include a developmental variable age, an attitudinal measure of educational frustration, and two measures of self-esteem, one peer-based and the other school-based. The measure that labeled "educational frustration" is the difference between a student's desire to attend college and his expectation of doing so. The greater the distance between aspiration and expectation, the greater the level of gang involvement. The differences in patterns of gang involvement between Hispanics and African-Americans underscore the need for taking culture and social context into account in the development of differential anti-gang programs whatever the more general policy strategy and goals may be. "Gang involvement and delinquency among Hispanic/Latino youths is closely associated with intrapersonal variables (e.g., self-esteem and educational frustration). Gang involvement among African-American youths is more closely associated with social or interpersonal variables (e.g., exposure to gang members in the school and home). These differences underscore the need for theoretical attention to cultural factors in attempts to explain gang involvement and delinquency and in the development and evaluation of prevention programs." In Chicago, where this research was conducted, the disillusionment of Hispanic/Latino students with the operation of schools and the failure of schools to meet the emotional, social, and educational needs of Hispanic/Latino students have gone hand-in-hand to produce an environment conducive to the growth of delinquent youth gangs as social alternatives to traditionally legitimized forms of social organization. Conclusion: the orientation, activities, and structure of lower income Hispanic/Latino and African-American communities and gangs are different.

Hagedorn, J. M. (1994). Homeboys, dope fiends, legits, and new jacks. *Criminology*, 32, 197-219.

Through a study done in Milwaukee on gangs and drug dealing, the author of this article tries to find answers relating the following issues: gang members and their future, gangs and drugs, effective policies for gang members. The author addresses such questions as: Are police and more prisons a good policy? Wouldn't it be better to offer jobs and other programs that strengthen "social capital" (Cleman, 1988) in order to integrate adult gang members into the community?, and Are all gangs involved in same activities and do they all show the same behavior? The author of this article starts by commenting on different studies made on gangs and drugs and on the incentives received from drug sales. After naming some of these studies, the author suggests that the findings show that gang drug dealers do not make as much money as they would from a full-time job, and that the drug business for them is rather ambiguous and not always profitable. For the purpose of this paper 47 male and female members of Milwaukee gangs were interviewed in 1987 and 1992 (60% African American, 37% Latino, and 3% white with a median age of 26). The findings were as follows: Gangs seemed to be

working more in 1992 than they did in 1987, but with lower participation in the formal labor market. However, the involvement of gang members in the informal drug market had risen in 1992. Through his study, Hagedorn found that involvement in drugs did not show a general pattern among all gang members; therefore, he categorizes gangs, that are in one way or the other related to drugs, in four different categories: The legits: former gang members that are either working or have gone back to school. These gangs had not been involved in the dope game at all; Homeboys: Those who dedicate their time to illegal drug selling as well as to a conventional job. Most were African American and Latino adult gang members. One of the homeboys, when interviewed, said that he would give up drug selling if he could get a job which paid $ 10.00/hour. He expressed his lack of confidence that this kind of offer would fit his reality. As a group, homeboys think that selling drugs is "unmoral", but that it is necessary in order to survive; Dope fiends: These are gang members that are addicted to cocaine. As opposed to homeboys, they want to get money from drug dealing to buy drugs, instead of making the profit to satisfy their family needs; New jacks: These gang members dedicate all their working time to drug dealing. They considered it a career. They do not feel any kind of remorse when selling drugs and many of them were raised in a hustling environment and do not believe in a conventional future. Hagedorn concludes his article by saying that while some gang members prefer the drug market over conventional jobs, the majority of adult gangs struggle to get back into the conventional world. He also expresses his concern about treating gang members as if they all had the same characteristics and emphasized the importance of creating steady employment for these people instead of offering them the constant threat of incarceration.

Harris, M. G. (1994). Cholas, Mexican-American girls, and gangs. *Sex Roles*, 30, 289-301.

In order to get information on Mexican-American gang girls' participation in gang groups and their attitudes toward gang activities, this study interviews twenty-one present and former female gang members in the San Fernando Valley of Los Angeles. The main purpose of this study is to better understand the "Cholas" subculture from their own world-view. Regarding gang membership, this study states that Mexican-American females become part of a gang in the same way other females become part of a teenage group. The results of this interview shows that members more desired in these kind of groups are ones that show ability and willingness to fight, ability to be bad, to be crazy, and to be tough and to use drugs. Members must live in the barrio or very close to the center of gang activity and all of them must be Chicanas. Most of these females join the gangs because their brothers or sisters have done so before, they identify with them and want to emulate them. The main reasons why they join gangs are: sense of belonging and identity, a need for group support and cohesiveness, and a need for revenge. Some of them have been raped, bitten or have had some family problems. Some of them start acting like gangs as a way of socializing and when they realize it is not working for them, it is too late. For most of them, family and school bonds are weak, they have low aspirations and do not identify with dominant institutions. For these members, their gangs elicit more loyalty than friends and family. These girls will support each other in times of fight no matter the risk involved. They also reveal male dominance. All of them had engaged in drug dealing and used all the money to buy drugs. They became involved in gangs for four different reasons: honor, local turf-defense, control and gain. Also, the study reveals that parents of many of the girls

interviewed had been gang members too. For some of them, it is easy to get out of the gang, but for others it is hard. Most of them, at ages 17 and 18, start focusing their interest on their community rather than on their gangs and leave the active gang. Some become pregnant, others get married, and others become straight. Most of the girls in this study reported having been in a detention facility of one kind or another. The study concludes that the social influence of the gang subculture is what shapes the "cholas" values and behaviors.

Hellman, D. R. & Beaton, Susan. (1986). The pattern of violence in urban public schools: The influence of school and community. ***Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,*** **23, 102-127.**

This article investigates the relationship between school crime, school characteristics and community characteristics to suspension rates. The authors also relate the suspension rates to race, age and gender. For this purpose, suspension records from all public schools at a Boston ISD were studied. The study revealed that suspension rates are higher in schools that are experiencing higher rates of reported crime in the community. These, at the same time are associated with the same set of community structure measures. Neither suspension rates nor community crime rates were significantly associated with income level, unemployment, or racial composition. They were more closely related to family and class structure, housing quality, and population density and stability. Areas in which traditional, working-class families lived, were characterized by a lower rate of crime. The authors of this study conclude by saying that in order to lower the crime rate, some type of community change (physical or social) is needed. They also suggest that to reduce crime and disruption in schools, housing quality should be improved. They also believe that their results show that as long as communities go through a social change, crime rates and school suspension rates may increase. When talking about societal influence on crime, they mentioned that for middle schools, results indicate that the school environment is more responsible for disruptions in school than is community. Apparently, they say, an adequate number of teachers relative to students can serve to reduce disruption in schools. Regarding high schools, the influence on disruptive actions at schools and street crime comes most of the time from community.

Implications for schools: "Although the community has a substantial influence on school violence and property loss, the schools themselves are not helpless victims of their environment." (National Institute of Education, 1978) (p. 103). The authors of this article suggest that social change is inevitable, but encourage schools to structure their environments to compensate for the influence of the community, which, in turn, could lower crime and suspension rates. Since high school students are the ones that are most influenced by community, the authors of this article conclude by saying that crime problem is more difficult for high school administrators. They suggest that these people continue promoting social and learning environments to compensate for problems generated by the community at large and also to reduce the extent to which outsiders can influence the school environment.

Horowitz, Ruth (1983). ***Honor and the American Dream.*** **NJ: Rutgers.**

Chapter 7, "Education and School Authority" discusses the attitudes of gang members in a Chicago neighborhood concerning education in general and the local public schools in particular. While education

is highly valued in the community, even by gang members, relatively few young people graduate from high school. "General approval of education, however, is not sufficient motivation to persuade most students to finish high school." Approximately 30% of the students in the study area graduate from high school. Many do not attend the public high school in the neighborhood. "Though education is highly evaluated both by parents and by students on 32nd Street, students do not find the local public schools either rational or reasonable. Moreover, peer group expectations encourage skipping classes, dropping out, and violence within the school. Violence, or the threat of violence is not uncommon in the area public schools. Many students either transfer to other school outside of the neighborhood (when possible), transfer to private Catholic schools (when economically possible) or simply drop out after experiencing violence in some form at school. Additionally, students do not perceive many payoffs for remaining in school. Few graduates find good jobs (often times, drop outs find as good or better jobs than graduates) and few students learn much in their last years of school. "There is little counseling by school personnel about staying in school, careers, or further education. Most of the staff worry more about violence than about education and few help students make academic or career decisions." Usually the better students in a public school, once identified, are counseled to attend private/parochial or better vocational training schools. The majority of female students have few career aspirations. "Motherhood, not work, is perceived as salient in their future." Virtually the only reason many of the females stay in school is to find a husband. Students feel in general that 1) teachers are not trying to teach, 2) teachers are not very good at explaining, and 3) they are not interested in teaching. Teachers are seen as uncaring if they do not or cannot maintain discipline. Teachers described by students as good often are also characterized as strict. As school begins to appear to be less and less of a benefit, the youths turned to their peers for confirmation of self- worth. "Both individually and collectively the students have a much more positive image of themselves from activities and interactions outside the school than they have of themselves inside the school.

Horowitz, Ruth (1987). Community tolerance of gang violence. *Social Problems* 34(5), 437-450.

This article is based on the author's long term research in a Chicago neighborhood. Through interviews, Horowitz found that some of the area gang members sought to avoid fighting in school and consequently being identified as a gang member by transferring to a public school outside of the community. Teachers and school personnel are characterized as intolerant of gang activities of any kind, in any context. Teachers and school personnel avoid "unnecessary" contact with students. They leave immediately after school hours, rarely attend community events, and also hold all school activities during the day. Many teachers fail to see how their behavior is interpreted by students. They also fail to distinguish gang members from non-gang individuals or to acknowledge any differences. "For many teachers, their lack of understanding of gangs and other young people in the community leads to a fundamental intolerance of youth."

Huff, C.R. (Ed.) (1990). *Gangs in America*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

This is a collection of essays, grouped into five general areas. Direct references to school and education are few. In Chapter 2, *Emic and Etic Perspectives on Gang Culture: The Chicano Case,* authors Vigil

and Long suggest that the cholo subculture devalues scholastic achievement. In Chapter 13, titled *Strategies and Perceived Agency Effectiveness in Dealing with the Youth Gang Problem,* authors Spergel and Curry describe the results of a survey of service agency personnel, both public and private, concerning gang problem solving strategies. Using the answers from respondents, Spergel and Curry came up with five underlying strategies; schools were included in the "Community Organization" category, as well as the "Opportunities" category. Other categories include: "Social Intervention: youth outreach and streetwork counseling," "Suppression: arrest, incarceration, and supervision," and "Organizational development and change: institutional and policy adaptations and mechanisms. The authors note that, "our findings demonstrated that although suppression and social intervention were the most prevalent strategies used by agencies and cities in addressing the problem, in fact strategies of community organization and social opportunities were associated clearly and strongly with perceptions of agency effectiveness and a reduction of the gang problem, particularly in terms of perceived greater effectiveness of city or urban area efforts." The authors conclude that limited resources would be more effectively used in connection with the education system and improving job opportunities.

Jankowski, M. S., (1991). *Islands in the Street.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Jankowski's work is a comprehensive volume based on over ten years of field work with various gangs around the US Jankowski addresses an aspect of Frederic Thrasher's work which was not the focus of any previous study, namely an analysis of the gang as an organization. His goal is to better understand gangs and the micro-dynamics associated with their organization. "In placing emphasis on the organization, however, the study does not neglect the gang as a collective of individuals. Indeed one of the important features of this research is the investigation of the interplay between the behavior of the individual and that of the collective." His study is comparative, endeavoring to discover what gangs have in common as well as what is idiosyncratic to particular gangs. Jankowski established the topics he wished to cover in his study, then researched each topic. He then formulated each into a hypothesis and determined what his research findings indicated. The work is broken down into three major areas of investigation, namely: 1) organizational aspects of gangs; 2) gang interactions with their communities; and 3) gang interaction and treatment by the media. In the second section, Jankowski interviewed individuals representing each community studied and chronicled their interactions with and attitudes toward the gangs in their community. This group included business owners, family members, neighbors, community leaders, politicians, government bureaucrats, law enforcement officials and members of the media. Notably missing from this long list is anyone in any way associated with the educational system. Nowhere does Jankowski address any gang interaction with schools at any level, not even in connection with recruitment.

In discussing his findings of the individual reasons for becoming a gang member, Jankowski reports that the belief that youngsters join gangs because they drop out of school and therefor have fewer job skills and reduced opportunities for meaningful employment is inaccurate. Jankowski found that, while there were a large number of gang members who had dropped out of school, their number was only slightly higher than those who had finished school.

Lal, S.R., Lal, D., and Achilles, C.M.(1993). *Handbook on gangs in schools, strategies to reduce gang-related activities,* Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

This small handbook is targeted for school personnel and administrators as a strategy guideline for developing a plan of action to deal with gangs on school campuses. The authors discuss ways of identifying and classifying both gang members and others on the periphery of gangs. They also provide a blueprint for action and organization of school personnel. The last chapter discusses the isolation and attraction of gangs. The authors advocate the incorporation and inclusion of gangs (as a group, not individually) in school activities in a positive manner.

Lockwood, A.T. (1993). Understanding youth in gangs: Focus in change: The International Center for Effective Schools. Spring, No. 10.

The purpose of this article is to get to a better understanding of youth involved in gangs by asking questions such as: Why are youth, in growing numbers, joining gangs? What effect does gang activity have on schooling? On school staff? And although gangs are far from new on the American scene, why are they increasingly prevalent even in non-urban settings? This issue is divided into three parts. The first covers an interview with Robert McCathern, who manages the Youth Development and Violence Prevention program of the New Futures for Little Rock Youth Initiative in Little Rock, Arkansas. He explains that, based on his experience, young gang members have the same characteristics: they are between 15 and 16 years old; have lived in areas of high crime and violence; they have been conditioned to crime and violence; and they have accepted violence as a norm. McCathern's main concern is to save children from a violent and crime-related life. He explains that the main reason youth affiliate to groups is to gain recognition from other gang members. He says that students join gangs the same way people in mainstream America join sororities and fraternities - human need to belong. He also talks about the definition of "gang" and explains that the line between a group and a gang is crossed when the group decides to engage in illegal or antisocial activities. He makes it clear that there are differences among gang groups and explains some of those differences. He also confirms that the media and society have aided the formation of gangs. He expresses that youth gang members are very intelligent people and suggests a program of inclusion rather than exclusion to face and to mitigate the gang problem. It is important to know how they feel and what their problems are, he explains, and he suggests that teacher training (teacher understanding of how and why gang groups are formed) is also needed to confront and help the students when needed without making them feel humiliated. In conclusion, McCathern suggests that schools should give kids a sense of protection, security and acceptance and create a community environment that sometimes is missing outside schools.

The second part of this issue interviews Marcus Anderson, a former gang founder and leader, who tells his story about when he was a gang member and why he became one. He explains that if people at school had not labeled him, he would not have committed so many unwanted behaviors at school. He talks about McCathern's program and how it helped him look for a better life. He also talks about his horrible experience at the penitentiary and his eagerness to become straight, as well as his need for a second chance in life.

The third part of the issue is an interview with Martín Sánchez Jankowski, a sociologist that lived with 37 gangs of varying ethnicity

in three major US cities over a period of 10 years. He is an associate professor of sociology and chair of the Chicano/Latino Policy Project of the Institute for the Study of Social Change at the University of California - Berkeley. He, as well as McCathern, agrees that gangs are tightly related to low-income areas. He thought that by living with gangs, he could understand the dynamics by which gangs operate in society. He focused on studying gangs in L.A. and New York. He studied all kinds of ethnic groups, from white to African-Americans. He disagrees with the general idea of putting together crime and delinquency with the gangs. McCathern as well as Jankowski agree that better job opportunities should be offered and available to less privileged youth. They also agree that gangs are not going to disappear. Jankowski concludes his interview by explaining that most of the time gang members do not have low self-esteem, but rather they do not like the place they occupy in society, which is something different from the general public opinion of gangs. He also states that if gang members are offered "real" jobs they would take them and that is his main concern - providing these jobs. Implications for schools: McCathern states that law enforcement tactics are used in schools (metal detectors and fences), while leaving aside the reasons why young students show unacceptable behaviors at school. He explains that until these human factors are considered, there is not going to be any positive change. He explain that most gang members have had a history of failure and unhappy experiences in schools. He also thinks that this school rejection is what makes them prone to unacceptable behaviors. He also believes that most kids that join gangs have generally good attitudes toward their friends at school, but they feel they do not fit into the structure of schools. He states that the way schools teach to these kids is distant from reality, since most of them think that they are not going to succeed academically or even finish high school. Jankowski believes that a vocational education program in schools coupled with good school-based placement services would be very effective in winning many intelligent gang members back into mainstream society. Jankowski, suggested that "Gangs are a response to poverty and inequality, and schools must work with private industry to create a good jobs program for which youth can be trained and placed upon graduation. It is only in this way, he believes, that the brightest gang members - and non-gang members who also do not face a promising future - will be retrieved into mainstream society." Jankowski and McCathern also agree in that school staff should be involved in ongoing dialogues and negotiations with gangs, not denying that they exist, but rather working together with them to see what issues need to be resolved, and what the gangs' interests are.

Lopez, J., & Mirande, A. (1988). The gangs of Orange County: A critique and synthesis of social policy. *Aztlan* 19(1), 125-146.

Lopez and Mirande offer an overview and analysis of gangs in Orange County, California while evaluating the public policies implemented to contain gang activity. The authors argue that Orange County officials basically believe that their only gang problem is a Chicano gang problem, and their response has been narrowly focused. The authors also propose an alternative to the urbanization model of gang development, which they describe as a comprehensive structural and economic model. To support their theory, the authors analyzed data from various sources, "including participant observation, field research, interviews with key law enforcement officials, and in-depth content analysis of newspaper coverage of gang activity." They found the gangs

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in Orange County to be very diverse, possessing positive and negative qualities and having a wide variety of influences. Implications for schools: Lopez and Mirande discuss and criticize the various public policy responses of Orange County officials to the area's gang problems, which includes: the Iron Fist - overt suppression, the Velvet Glove - denial of gang activity, and "Just Say No!" - The Operation Safe School Project. Operation Safe Schools is a program adapted from the Los Angeles Operation Safe Streets program, and involves a contractual arrangement between the Orange County Department of Education and the state Office of Criminal Justice Planning. Operation Safe Schools involves imposing sanctions for wearing gang attire, displaying gang signs and colors, and writing graffiti. There is also a counseling component to the project, "which appears to be geared to exposing what this agency refers to as 'hard core' gang members so that they can be removed to one of Orange County's thirteen alternative schools where they will receive special attention from teachers who ostensibly have a better understanding of and rapport with such students. The authors maintain however that, based on the work of F.R. Chavez, the teachers assigned to these alternative schools tend to be those with disciplinary problems themselves. Finally, the authors offer several alternatives to the Orange County approach, which includes increased funds for research to expand knowledge and understanding of the gangs in the county, and the directing of funds and resources into creating meaningful employment opportunities.

Lyon, J., Henggeler, S., & Hall, J. (1992). The family relations, peers relations, and criminal activities of Caucasian and Hispanic-American gang members. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology,* 20, 439-449.

The main purpose of this study is to assess the family relations of Caucasian and Hispanic/Latino-American gang members and to contrast this relation with the family relations of juvenile offenders who do not belong to gangs. Among others, this study investigates the difference in criminal activity between gang members and criminals that do not belong to gangs. Similarly, this study investigates the influence of family and peers on gang membership to find out if they have the same influence in Hispanic/Latino-Americans and Caucasians. For this purpose, 131 (ages 13 to 18 years old) incarcerated male juvenile offenders were screened. All of them included Hispanic/Latino and Caucasian gang and not-gang members. Although there was not an age difference among participants, Caucasians youths were of higher social status than their Hispanic counterparts. For this study, ethnicity and gang membership acted as independent variables, while criminal activity, family relations, and peer relations were considered as dependent variables. The results showed that gang members report much higher rates of criminal activity than did criminals who did not belong to gangs; the Caucasian gang group being the one that reported higher rates. Similarly, Hispanic/Latino-Americans that did not belong to gangs reported significantly less use of drugs than the other 3 groups. Concerning family relations, the only significant information taken from this study was that Hispanic/Latino-American youths reported significantly more psychological control from their mothers than the Caucasian group did. Similarly, the results showed that peer relations between gang members were more aggressive and less socially mature than their common offenders counterparts.

Martinez, D. (1978) Hispanic youth in the barrio. *The Nation* Sept./Oct. issue.

While this article mostly concerns the criminal justice aspects of gangs, the then Community Relations Coordinator of the Casa Blanca area, Richard Roa, states his belief that early intervention is key to reaching at-risk Latino youth. He proposes that schools, the city government and the home need to work jointly to provide programs.

Monti, D. J. (1993) The culture of gangs in the culture of the school. *Qualitative Sociology,* 16, 383-404
This article argues that other than the testimony given by teachers and students at school about gang activities, people do not know how far gangs have spread throughout public school systems. This article also discusses the lack of information gathered regarding how many schools have gangs and where those schools are located. However, there is not much information on what gangs do at school. The main purpose of this article is to discover the impact of gang life on children in elementary, junior high, and senior high schools. For this purpose, 400 school-aged children between ten and nineteen years old were interviewed. Their answers were based on their personal experiences either through observation or through what they had heard about gangs. Most of the students interviewed were at the elementary level, while some were at the junior and senior high school (200 elementary, and 100 from each high school) at a school district outside a major United States city (Fairview School District). Some of their responses were as follows: Children in all schools are aware of gangs, although the nature and extent of their knowledge varied, the high school students being the most informed. Recruitment of would-be gang members was done informally. Students said that family and friendship ties were terribly important in this regard. They also explained that what happened to students in school did not seem to be crucial to the creation of gangs. What happened to students in school, however, did affect the gang identity of individual youngsters and the behavior of the group as a whole. Students said that they became active members in a fairly natural and non-threatening way. They were introduced to it during the course of their everyday life and, having found it a source of fellowship and self-identity, simply slid into gang membership as easily as adults might slide into the local church. Most of the gang members were male and African American. Many gang members were involved in criminal activity on an intermittent basis. Relatively few engaged in criminal activity on a daily basis. Some of the gang members acquired money through drugs. This article concludes that the gang subculture is an expression of the tension that frequently exists between the school and the community in which it is embedded. The author agrees with Anyon, 1989; Lubeck, 1989 in that the gang subculture is another version of the peer culture that operates in all schools to varying degrees and that it serves as a powerful device for socializing youngsters and is every bit a part of the school's hidden curriculum as are the racial, class, and gender biases that some observers find in schools. In this specific district, gangs and school staff were able to find a basis for mutual tolerance, if not respect. In its most extreme forms, the gang culture actively resists conventional models and myths of success and discourages many students from endorsing them. They conclude by saying that the fact that gang activity is often tolerated at schools is the reason why gang problems are so common in schools. It is apparent that the relation between the culture of the gang and the culture of schools is far more complex than is commonly supposed. Implications for schools: " Under some circumstances the schools can soften or make worse the frequency and nature of gang activity that occurs in them." (383). "There is little information about the way school routines and

staff encourage a young person to take on a gang identity (Padilla, 1992). (p. 391) Gangs had their start in the community. The schools provided a forum through which gang allegiances were reinforced and conflicts among gangs are fomented. Most students observed that schools became sites where both the social and economic functions of gangs were played out and reinforced. District administrators believed that gangs were active in Fairview High School, but the principal did not attribute much significance to the gangs and did little to deal explicitly with difficulties they caused. They conclude also by saying that if schools were more effective, less gang activity would be shown at schools. Gangs do not accept what schools are offering to them because they do not feel any kind of identification in schools. According to the author, gang members get together to protect themselves (become a family) from the rest of society.

Monti, Daniel J. (1994). *Wannabe: Gangs in suburbs and schools*. Cambridge: Blackwell.

This book explores the information gathered by Monti from interviews with students in one school district in the suburbs of a mid-western city in the US. The book's introduction includes an interview with a high school gang member. The Protocol employed, including the opening speech and several questions is outlined. Interview subjects were selected by the schools' principals and counselors based on their belief of the students' knowledge of gangs and or gang activity. The work mostly documents the existing gangs in the targeted school district. Monti has very little nice to say about school staff and administration, noting several reports and one actual eye witness account of fights in the schools where neither teachers nor staff intervened until near its conclusion. The schools' administrations also never made any connections between the various fights which occurred in their schools, preferring to treat each as an isolated incident. Monti also reports a state of denial in these public schools as to the existence of gang members or gang activity on campus. He also believes that the staff's lack of attention actually accentuated the bad feelings which students held for each other and therefore fueled ongoing disputes He found that most of the students he interviewed, even those described as 'good kids' had very little positive to say about their teachers. Many teachers were portrayed as uncaring or incompetent. Many of the problems between students and teachers were described as racial in nature by students.

Moore, J. (1991), *Going down to the barrio*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. The main purpose of this book is to study two Chicano gang groups in the East Los Angeles Area and the changes these groups have gone through since the 1940's. The two groups considered are the White Fence gangs and the El Hoyo Maravilla. Males as well as females are part of these groups or cliques, using Moore's terminology. Moore claims that much misunderstanding about gang members and gang activities is transmitted through police and the media. Through her book, Moore wants to give more accurate information and to clear up some ambiguities about gang members and their behaviors. She also elaborates on the difference between gang groups and the difference between male and female gangs. The two groups studied in this book belong to underprivileged barrios, with a large immigrant population and with low rates of education and job opportunities. In chapter 3, "Two Barrio Gangs: Growth, Structure, and Theoretical Considerations", Moore elaborates on reasons why gangs evolve. She mentions two reasons: 1) The resistance theory - which is

related to their opposition to a conventional society, and 2) The illicit Opportunity Scenario - related to the absence of well-paying jobs. In chapters four and five Moore concludes that 1950's members of these two gang groups were more closely integrated with the conventional barrio structures and norms, that they were less institutionalized, and that they used less drugs than their 1970's counterparts. However, there are no indications that women in the 1970's were more accepted in gang groups than women in the 1950's. Although gang members come from troubled families, family problems found in the 1950's were not much different than the ones found in the 1970's.

Moore, J.W. (1985). Isolation and stigmatization in the development of an underclass: the case of Chicano gangs in east Los Angeles. *Social Problems* 33(1) p. 1-12.

This article begins with a brief history of gangs in East L.A. from the eighteenth century to the present, divided into four stages based on the community's attitudes toward gangs. Moore notes that, "youth gangs are particularly susceptible to labeling as deviant, regardless of their behavior." (p.4) Of particular note is Moore's observation that the sequence which occurred in East L.A. is recurring in 'new' cities, e.g. cities in which gang activity is relatively new.

Moore, J.W., & Vigil, J.D. (1989). Chicano gangs: Group norms and individual factors related to adult criminality. *Aztlan* 18(2) p.27-44.

In this article Moore and Vigil argue that gangs cannot be characterized as deviant or criminal, but rather as 'tropho-criminal' - permissive or supportive of individual deviance. They suggest that Chicano gangs represent an institutionalized rejection of the values of adult authority, "especially as exhibited in the Anglo-dominated schools and the police department." (p.31) In the course of describing family types, the authors relate how one 18 year old described his initial gang experience, "my sisters didn't influence me to become a gang member. It was mostly school pressure that did it." (p.38)

Moore, J., Vigil, J.D., & Garcia, R. (1983). Residence and territoriality in Chicano gangs. *Social Problems* 31(2), 182-194)

In this article the authors argue that the major sociological theory concerning gangs is outdated, being based on turn of the century research conducted in Chicago. The authors propose that the Chicano gangs in East Los Angeles which they studied do not fit the dominant sociological theory in many respects, particularly with respect to territoriality. The authors discuss their findings from various research projects, and propose an ecological model of Chicano gangs. One important conclusion drawn by the authors is the fact that, unlike the gang members in the ghettos of 1920's Chicago, Chicanos in East Los Angeles cannot truly move, or change residence, to escape the barrio, that it is much more difficult to drop out of the gang scene in present day Los Angeles. When Chicanos do change residence, it is likely to another barrio, which more likely than not, has a long standing gang presence. Implications for schools: As in many other works concerning gangs, the authors note that the transition from elementary to junior high school is critical. In contrasting middle class and Chicano boys, the authors note, "for a middle class boy, the neighborhood and the family decline in importance as the boy finds relationships with peers from new environments. For a Chicano gang member, however, the kin-like neighborhood increases in importance. The move to junior high school is

likely to confirm academic failure for most boys, who leave school as soon as they reach the legal age of 16." (p.188) Chicano gang members are said to develop a "counter-school" subculture, which the authors hold is a true alternative culture. The authors found that the move to junior high schools brings gangs from different geographic areas into contact with each other, increasing the potential for conflict. While some Chicano boys are successful in avoiding conflict and fights, "others anticipate the challenge because they are socialized to fight." (p.188) The authors argue that these boys' physical and psychological survival is dependent upon their ability to successfully meet these challenges.

Pryor, D. W. & Mcgarell, E. F. (1993). Public perceptions of youth gang crime and exploratory analysis. *Youth & Society*, 24,_399-418.

This article focuses on public perceptions of gang crime considering not only the age variable, but also the correlation of this perception with sex, race, and residence in an area high or low in gang crime. Also, this survey took into consideration how knowledge about youth gang crime was obtained either through the media, informal talk, or direct or vicarious victimization and the impact on perceptions about the phenomena directly. For this purpose, a survey was administered over the telephone to residents who lived in Indianapolis during late 1984 and early 1985. The survey asked about types of victimization experiences at the hands of youth gangs, about information on gang crime people had picked up from different sources, and about perceptions of the youth gang situation in the area. Participants were selected randomly. The findings were that most of the participants agreed that the gang crime problem was not a serious problem in their area, while they believed that it was quite serious in other parts of the city. Age, race, gang area, and television exposure were not significantly related to any trend variable. There were some patterns, however, worth noting. Younger respondents were most likely to indicate an increase in youth gang crime in their own neighborhood, followed by the middle-age group, and then the oldest. This article points out that according to the literature, gang crime is seldom perceived as a non-local problem (duBow et at., 1979; Hindelang, Gottfredson, & Garofalo, 1978). They conclude by saying that this tendency must be related to the idea that people feel less alarmed about gang crime because they know their surroundings. However, this study obtained the same results as the Racine study (1990): Young respondents (aged 14 to 21) were much more likely to perceive youth gangs as a serious problem in their own neighborhood. But a sizable group of youths also expressed the perception that youth gangs were not a problem at all for the same neighborhood context. Middle-aged and older adults, in contrast, were much more likely to offer mid-range assessments. The authors interpret this as a consequence of young people being less dependent on stereotypical images of youth gangs. Also, people that had been victims of gang crime were more prone to see gang crime as a serious problem in their neighborhoods. They conclude by saying that although gang crime was considered an escalating, serious problem by most of the people interviewed, most of them thought of it as a problem which is "over there" - in other parts of the city. They suggest that this perception reflects the stereotyping of gang crime through the media. They believe that the television news reporting on gang crime as a non-local problem is the main reason why people gave those responses.

Romo, Harriett, Ed. (1990) ***New Directions for Latino Public Policy Research***

This is a collection of articles concerning new research, works in progress and completed projects dealing with a wide range of Latino issues.

Negotiation Strategies of At-Risk Hispanic High School Students: Implications for Educational Policies - Martha Adelia Montero-Sieburth. This is a proposed study of at-risk students in a Boston high school. Montero-Sieburth plans to study and document the interactions between teachers and subjects. Her goals are to assist in accurate identification of at-risk Hispanic/Latino students, assess curriculum and other possible preventative measures which schools could employ, and to research policies which affect the relationships between schools and the community. (p.20-21)

Irregular Life-Styles Among Former Chicano Gang Members - James Diego Vigil. This is an ethnographic study of former gang members who, up into their adults years, had not severed their ties with gangs, as is common for most gang members. From information gathered in open-ended interviews, the researcher found that 90 percent of the subjects had not completed high school, and only two of the thirty participants had attained GED certificates. Most had dropped out of school between grades seven and ten, and none remembered having any problems with teachers at the time they dropped out. Vigil concludes that the study's participants and their teachers largely ignored each other. Of the nine policy implications which Vigil identifies in connection with this study, two are directly related to education, namely expanding existing programs which have demonstrated success, such as Head Start and bilingual education and systematically identifying at-risk students before social and economic factors begin to interfere with their schooling.

Sotomayor, M. (1979). Juvenile delinquency: A community perspective. ***Agenda*** **Sept./Oct.**

In addition to other information, this article reports on a study conducted by the University of Southern California concerning gang violence. Like many reports before and after, this study also recommends early school identification of at-risk youth, as well as redirection of these students and the institution of anti-gang acculturation programs in the elementary schools.

Spergel, I. A. (1984). Violent gangs in Chicago: In search of social policy. ***Social Service Review,*** **60, 199-223.**

The author of this article is concerned about the lack of knowledge on how big a problem gangs are in society and the main purpose of the article is to examine the scope and nature of the violent gang problem in one major city (Chicago) in order to better inform the public about gang subcultures and to propose a community intervention model for dealing with this problem. The author is very interested in distinguishing the delinquent or criminal group from the gangs, which are commonly used interchangeably. Spergel also explains that while family is a major influence on the development of violent gang subcultures at lower ages (children and younger adolescents), local organizations such as schools, police, youth agencies special vocational training and job programs, as well as other community organizations are important at secondary levels, particularly for older youth and young adults. Implications in school: This article explains that "social disorganization theory may best account for the development of violent

gangs. A variant of social disorganization - culture conflict theory - appears to explain the creation of the integrated gang type. Strain or modified anomie theory, in addition to social disorganization theory, probably best accounts for the development of the segmented gang type. Our preliminary mode is based on the following empirically derived propositions: 1) The violent gang is a natural, lower-class interstitial institution resulting mainly from weakness of secondary institutions, such as schools, local communities, and ethnic organization, and to some extent from the weakness of primary institutions such as the family. ..."

Vigil, J. D. (1983). Chicano gangs: One response to Mexican urban adaptation in the Los Angeles area. *Urban Anthropology*, 12, 45-75.

This article, in addition to giving some general information about the gang population in Los Angeles, focuses on the creation of Chicano gangs in LA from Pachucos to Cholos and the factors that contribute to the formation of these social groups. The author explains that Mexican-American youth gangs have evolved because of the process of adaptation of Mexican immigrants to an urban life in the United States. He believes that the creation of a Chicano gang subculture is a product of the continuing immigration of Latinos to urban America. Through interviewing Mexican-Americans, collecting survey questionnaires from youth gang members and non-members, and additional data gathered by participating in several advisory boards related to youth problems in the Mexican American community, Vigil discusses the ecological, socioeconomic, sociocultural, and sociopsychological aspects of the existence of Mexican-American youth gangs in L.A. Among other things, Vigil mentions that the settlement of immigrants in neglected and inferior locations in LA, the lack of parental guidance because of the excessive working hours, the lack of economic resources and the relation of this to troubled families, problems with schooling, and limited job opportunities are all factors in youth looking for identity through gang association. The article also emphasizes that although most Pachucos and most Cholos were not involved in destructive anti-social activities, they were perceived by the general public as manifestations of criminal gang behavior because of the way they dressed.
Implications for schools: Vigil quotes in his article that while the youths' generalized negative attitudes toward dominant social institutions are in part responsible for this failure, it is clear that our schools have historically done a poor job educating Mexicans (Carter and Segura 1978, p. 54). He also mentions that "Gang members also have a difficult time in school, often lagging behind classmates initially and then eventually dropping out altogether" (Haro 1976). "Two social institutions have played a pivotal role in the life of the children of immigrants and in the conflict which has generated the marginal status of so many of them. One is the schools, which early researchers noted as a problem for the second generation of Mexican-Americans: schools generally have failed to accommodate the culturally different (Bogardus 1929; Sanchez 1967)."It was in the schools where the most acute culturally conflicting experiences transpired. Teacher-pupil clashes over primary language use and other contrasting cultural beliefs appeared to interfere with student knowledge and skill acquisition."

Vigil, J. D. (1988). Barrio gangs: Street life and identity in Southern California. Austin: University of Texas Press.

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Through this book, the author informs the reader about the ecological, socioeconomic, and sociocultural factors that lead some of the Southern California "barrio" members to become part of the "Cholo" street gang group. The main purpose of this book is to clarify the reasons why Mexican-Americans living in urban areas turn to the streets in order to look for identity. He explains that the gang phenomenon has a very long history, dating from the first Mexican-Americans who came to the United States. Poverty, job exploitation, discrimination, and ethnic and feelings of racial inferiority being the main reasons. Identity problems with family and problems with school identification, which in Vigil's words "...often impede rather than accommodate adjustment", predispose youths to look to the streets for socialization and identification. "Schools and law enforcement often operated to aggravate rather than ameliorate problems in Mexican cultural adaptation" (US Commission on Civil Rights 1970, 1971). He also adds that as opposed to other European immigrant groups, Mexican Americans have not acculturated as much as other groups. Although Cholos are Americanized now, they have not been totally assimilated into the American culture. He mentions that the gang subculture is a response to the pressure created by street life and that some Mexican Americans joining this subculture are looking for some kind of familial support. He also agrees with other authors mentioned in this annotated bibliography that gang members behave like any other American adolescent group, but with the main difference that gangs show violent and socially disruptive activities.

Implications for schools: Bogardus (1934) noted that Mexican parents often feel that their kids are being discriminated against at school. One of the gang members interviewed talked about his dislike of school because of the mistreatment he and his sister received as the only Mexicans in elementary School. Many gang members experience problems in school and fall behind their classmates, which makes them drop out when they reach high school. Although Vigil admits that racial problems at schools have improved, he thinks that racism still persists at the school level. He also concludes, from gang members' testimony, that schools still discriminate against minorities, giving a different treatment to Chicanos. Isolation from school activities, major events, and school sports creates personal insecurity among Chicanos. One of the interviewed gang members even mentioned that since he was considered a troublemaker, teachers ignored him and did not try to see if he had any potential at all. Most of the informants expressed that they did not care about school and that they did not learn anything at school, they were always behind.

Vigil, James Diego (1983). Chicano gangs: one response to Mexican urban adaptation in the Los Angeles area. *Urban Anthropology* 12(1) p.45-75.

This is a descriptive article based on the author's own research and information collected by the Chicano Pinto Research Project, as well as from his participation on several advisory boards. Vigil is specifically concerned here with sociological , psychological and ecological factors which contributed to or made possible the development of a gang subculture in the barrios of Los Angeles.

Implications for schools: Vigil points out that schools have historically done a poor job in educating Mexican-Americans. Additionally, while the importance of doing well in school is stressed, Mexican-American students are counseled against attending college and are essentially tracked. School and family problems are exacerbated by poor job opportunities. In discussing the sociocultural aspects of Chicano gangs, Vigil describes schools and law enforcement as

institutions which play a pivotal role in the life of immigrant children. Vigil makes a connection between the lack of educational and employment opportunities common to Mexican-American children and the discrepancy between what the larger society expects of them in order not to be considered socially deviant. "Alienated youths whose education and occupational prospects seem to preclude them from what Choen called 'the respectable status system' face severe problems in establishing for themselves a social identity" (p.58). Vigil argues that the gang subculture provides a sense of community and form of social identity for gang youth from which they are precluded by the dominant society. Vigil also describes a kind of "social death" in barrio youth, which he attributes to the combination of poor self-image, physical and/or emotional abuse. "The child feels he is worthless because of his experience, and consequently sees little value in following society's norms" (p.61). In conclusion, Vigil states, "it was in the schools where the most acute cultural conflict experiences transpired. Teacher pupil clashes over primary language use and other contrasting cultural beliefs appeared to interfere with student knowledge and skill acquisition" (p.67).

Weisfeld, G. E. (1982). A former street gang leader reinterviewed eight years later. *Crime & Delinquency*, 28, 567-581.

This is an interview with a 34 year old former white street gang leader who was born in Northern Ireland and came to Chicago at an early age and that had been involved in crime. By the time of the interview he had already become moderately successful as an independent businessman, and believed that crime was a bad bargain in the long run based on his personal experiences. At the beginning of the article he talks about how he got involved in crime. First, he explained that peer pressure was a primary factor, saying that gang members provided the security of a group identity and acceptance, as well as mutual protection and economic security through sharing resources. He also said that they worked cooperatively and that there was little stigma attached to being a thief among neighborhood youths. When talking about his life as a gang member, he explains that he never considered himself a gang member, but rather a club member as if he belonged to any other club. He used the phrase: "It's either belong [to a club] or get hurt." In summary, he explains that gang members stay affiliated to the "clubs" because of the street gang value system (toughness and macho values), drugs, and easy money. One of his most important comments was that he does not believe that prison rehabilitates offenders. He suggests a way to escape criminal life style by making them think about the consequences, using other gang members' stories, rather than scaring them through other means. He favors the idea of creating attractive jobs available for these youths. He also commented that youths continue to complain about poor wages, boredom, hazards, and the close supervision of factory jobs. He concludes by stating that attractive jobs are not sufficient to compete with street crime. He believes that young gangs would get legal jobs if they had the opportunity.

Zatz, M.S. (1987). Chicano youth gangs and crime: the creation of a moral panic. *Contemporary Crises* 11, 129-158.

Zatz's study investigates the causes of panic in Phoenix over gang activity, with specific reference to Latino youth. The only reference to schools is a quote by a purported gang member as to why he and his friends hung out together. The student reported that he was beaten up by an assistant principal and he and several students subsequently

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formed West Gang as a way of maintaining mutual support against what they characterized as unfair oppression by the school system. What this anecdote points out is the importance of perception and of investigating allegations fully, in order to either rectify a situation or dispel rumors which could be harmful.

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